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THE RABBINATE OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE,
LONDON, FROM 1756-1842.

BY DR. C. DUSCHINSKY, London.

R. Hirschel as Chief Rabbi of Berlin.

HE was elected Chief Rabbi of Berlin and the provinces, his title being 'Oberlandesrabbiner'. The first clause in the Contract stipulates that his chief duty should be to attend the Bet-Hamidrash, to study and teach Torah to old and young and to deliver a special talmudic discourse at the beginning of every term (בפלו"א חריפותא). His duties were further (§2 of Contract) to preach on Sabbath Haggadol and Sabbath Teshubah, for which he received additional remuneration. He had to administer the Jewish law in religious matters as well as in civil disputes brought before him. Amongst his obligations was also the reading of the Tal, Geshem, and Neilah services. The custom for the Rabbi to read the Neilah service at the conclusion of Atonement-day is still in force in orthodox congregations, while the reading by the Rabbi of the Tal and Geshem services was not general, and has since entirely been abandoned. It does not seem to have been usual even at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is not mentioned in Rabbi Ezekiel Landau's 'Rabbinical Letter' when he was elected Chief Rabbi of Prague (edited by Kaufmann in Yearbook *Haeshkol*, I, pp. 177 ff.). In the Synagogue he had his seat on the left side of the ark, and was called up to the reading of the Law every Sabbath to the third portion (Shelishi). His salary was 50 Thaler a month (1 Thaler was 6 Gulden = approximately 10s., the

yearly salary was consequently about £300) from the Berlin community, but other congregations belonging to the district paid him additional remuneration. A separate fee was due to him for every function performed and for every decision given by the Bet Din.

In Berlin his fame as a scholar was soon established and to his Yeshibah flocked students from far and wide. In those days, when hardly any Rabbi possessed even a superficial knowledge in secular subjects, our Rabbi, who was well read in various branches of worldly literature, was regarded as a phenomenon. Even a knowledge of Hebrew grammar was unusual and was regarded as an innovation, which laid any Rabbi open to suspicion as fraternizing with the 'Modernisers'. Mendelssohn was then at the zenith of his career, and R. Hirschel was not afraid to give an approbation to his edition of the German translation of the Bible, which called forth a strong protest from many Rabbis of Poland, Austria, and even Germany. This approbation was signed the 12th of Elul, 1778, and the Bible was printed in Berlin in 1783. R. Hirschel hails the publication as a necessity from the *Jewish* point of view. All the nations, he says, have prepared translations of the Bible, and such Jews as desire to read a German translation had to use those of Christians which contain many mis-translations due to theological bias, and entirely contrary to Jewish tradition. The Yiddish translation published, with the sanction of the Four-lands-Synod, in 1679, gives no satisfaction to those who speak a grammatical German. He recommends the translation and praises the skill and efficiency of Mendelssohn. Whilst in Halberstadt R. Hirschel had already become an admirer of Mendelssohn, as may be seen from a letter of Gleim, the poet, to

F. E. Boysen, a priest, written in August, 1770, in which he states that the Rabbi admired the Socrates of Berlin and was proud of the fact that this Genius had sprung from his race. (See Landshut, p. 83, reprinted from Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, vol. X, 1872, p. 232). Gleim's opinion of R. Hirschel is worth quoting from this letter. 'The views of this man regarding Jewish scholarship are, you may believe me, thorough, profound, and vigorous. There is nothing treacherous, nothing false, nothing misanthropic about him, and as far as I know, he is naturally good and honest. Herr Loebel wishes, my friend, that you should know the great worth of the old teachers of his people in the same way as you know and appreciate Mendelssohn's merits in philosophy, and he has asked me to tell you that he so wishes.'

When, in 1777, the civil jurisdiction of the Rabbis was abolished and vested in the ordinary courts of justice, the Government asked the Chief Rabbi Hirschel Lewin to compile an excerpt of the Jewish Laws on inheritance, wills, trusts, and marriages. At R. Hirschel's request Mendelssohn compiled a treatise dealing with these matters. Apparently Mendelssohn did the whole work himself, although the book, under the title *Ritual-Gesetze der Juden*, was published as having been written by the Rabbi. (Berlin, 1778. See Kayserling's *Moses Mendelssohn*, p. 281.) The friendly relations³⁸ between Mendelssohn and the Rabbi

³⁸ A proof of the friendly relations between them is in the London Bet-Hamidrash library in form of a manuscript volume, containing Hebrew translations of some of Aristotle's works presented by Moses ben Menahem of Dessau to Zevi Hirsch, Rabbi of Berlin, as Purim-present in 5533 = 1773. (See Neubauer, *Catalogue*, No. 43, 4, p. 18.) Ber Goldberg, in *Hammagid*, 1879, p. 54, states that he saw a book in London which Mendelssohn presented to R. Hirschel; he probably refers to this manuscript.

became strained when the latter attacked Mendelssohn's friend Naphtali Herz Wessely, for having written a letter entitled 'Words of Peace and Truth' (דברי שלום ואמת). The letter (printed in Berlin, 1782) owed its origin to the following circumstances. When the Emperor Joseph II of Austria issued, in 1780, his 'Toleranz-Edict' in which he promised the Jews of Austria full political rights 'as soon as they were worthy of it', he ordered them to establish German schools and to train their children in handicrafts. This was regarded by the strictly orthodox Jews as an onslaught on their religion. If their children will have to learn German and other 'Goyish' things, they will have no time and also no inclination to study the Law, the religion of their Fathers. They thought that the order to establish schools was only a pretence and was really aimed at the destruction of the Torah and intended to make their children irreligious (Goyim). It was then that Naphtali Herz Wessely issued his 'Words of Peace and Truth', in which he asked his people not to disregard the Emperor's wishes. He endeavoured to disperse the anxiety for their religion and explained that they could just as well keep their religion in speaking a correct and grammatical as a corrupt German, namely Yiddish. Many listened to his words. Most of the Rabbis of Galicia, however, raised their voices against Wessely as they had against Mendelssohn's Bible translation. Later events proved that the apprehensions of the Rabbis were well founded. The Emperor Joseph's attempt to force his own culture upon the Jews of Austria and Galicia was ill-judged. He was a liberal and high-minded man, who would have liked to see all the people under his rule civilized, educated, and happy. But his methods in achieving this end were

too rapid. He recognized this, for with one stroke of the pen he revoked before his death all his reforms. As far as the Jews were concerned, instead of giving them at once liberty and full political rights, and thus an opportunity of acquiring knowledge, he forced upon them schools of the prevalent type, with teachers, who were not conforming Jews and who did their utmost to alienate the Jewish children from their faith. It is from that time that the aversion of the Galician orthodox Jews to secular studies dates, for it was not so in earlier times. When Haham Zevi was elected Rabbi of Lemberg, he was praised for being able to speak to the Government officials in their own language. They were far-seeing men, the Rabbis of the eighteenth century, who did not believe in taking the Jew right out of the Ghetto and making a modern scholar of him.

Rabbi Hirschel probably foresaw the danger which threatened the Galician Jews. Although himself a lover of secular studies, he did not believe in the too sudden modernization of the Jew. Possibly the expectations he had placed in Mendelssohn's Bible-translation were not realized, many young Jews were unsettled in their religious belief by the desire to become German scholars.³⁹ He may even have regretted having given his approbation to the Bible-translation. When Wessely was attacked by the eastern Rabbis, and the Rabbi of Prague, R. Ezekiel Landau, had excommunicated him for supporting the Emperor Joseph's reform, Hirschel likewise protested against this friend of Mendelssohn. Possibly he was urged to this by these Rabbis and felt that if he remained

³⁹ See Bernfeld, *Biography of S. J. Rapaport*: תולדות יש"ר, Berlin, 1899, p. 3.

silent he would be risking his reputation as an orthodox Rabbi. Whatever may have been the reason, the fact remains that he joined in the general attack against Wessely and tried to stop him from printing his works. He even did his best to have him expelled from Berlin; Mendelssohn, however, intervened on his behalf. He induced the Minister von Zedlitz to write to Daniel Itzig, President of the Berlin Jewish community, in Wessely's interest, and this intervention, as well as several letters by Mendelssohn to David Friedlaender, secured peace to the much harassed scholar.⁴⁰ There appeared anonymously a small pamphlet called כתב יושר 'A just letter', in which the author satirically deals with the question of learning Hebrew grammar and speaking German correctly. It is in the form of a dialogue between an ultra-orthodox Rabbi and a modern youth, and was a vindication of Wessely's 'Dibre Shalom'. The author was no other than R. Hirschel's son Saul, Rabbi in Frankfort on the Oder. This son was to cause our Rabbi other anxieties also. He attacked the well-known Raphael Cohen, Rabbi of the threefold congregation Hamburg, Altona, and Wandsbeck in an anonymous booklet entitled *Mizpeh Fekutiel*, which was a strong attack against the book *Torat Fekutiel* (Berlin, 1772), and its author R. Raphael Cohen, whom he accuses not only of having written a large book on trifling matters, and of inaccuracy, but also of deciding religious questions contrary to Law and of having been guilty of plagiarism. The book was published by Isaac, son of Daniel Jaffe, and his brother-in-law David Friedlaender, two friends of Mendelssohn. As author figures nominally Obadiah son of Rabbi Baruch from Poland, the real author, however,

⁴⁰ See Kayserling, *op. cit.*, pp. 307 ff.

being Rabbi Saul ben Hirschel. In the month of Adar, 5549 (1789) the book left the press (see Zedner, p. 619) and was sent out broadcast to all prominent Rabbis. In Hamburg, where Raphael Cohen was highly respected, it caused great consternation, and it seemed unjust that a book, that had been printed and known for sixteen years previously, should form the ground for such a violent attack on the honour and scholarly reputation of the Hamburg Rabbi. The Bet Din of Hamburg promptly issued a *Herem* (ban) against the book *Mizpeh Jekutiel* and its author. R. Hirschel himself was greatly annoyed at this slanderous book, and, not knowing who the real author was, prepared to sign a *Herem* against him, when one of his friends, R. Meir Weil, whispered to him, 'Oh, my Master, it is Saul' (2 Kings 6. 5; see Landshut, p. 91, cited by H. Adler in his 'Chief Rabbis of England', in *Jewish Hist. Exhib. Papers*, p. 283). The father had not the heart to issue a ban against his own son. Landshut gives as reason for this, that he regarded him to be of unsound mind (*ibid.*, p. 92). Saul, however, proclaimed in a second pamphlet the right of the author of the *Mizpeh* to criticize any work by any Rabbi, and states that there were no grounds and no justification for excommunicating the author. The booklet, consisting of 16 pages in 8vo., entitled *Teshubah of R. Saul to Rabbi Moses*, was printed in Berlin, 1789 (Zedner, p. 682). On pp. 15-16 appears a letter from his father, which is a confession that his son was the author. He says: 'Do you suspect me not to have joined the *Herem* for personal reasons? Thank God, everybody knows that in anything that concerns the honour of God and his Torah I would not regard the interest of either my brothers or my sons. The *Herem* would only increase

strife in Israel and give reformers an opportunity to laugh at "Talmide Ḥakamim" (scholars).' The whole letter, however, contains nothing which constitutes a valid defence of his son. With the same object R. Hirschel next published two more letters, both from anonymous writers, purporting to come, one from a Rabbi in Germany and the other from a Rabbi in Poland, together with a Responsum of his own (Landshut, pp. 94-9), in which he states that the author of the *Mizpeh* proves by his work that he is a great scholar. He, R. Hirschel, is aware of the fact that the author studies Torah day and night, that he wrote his criticism in true religious enthusiasm and in the conviction that certain passages in the *Torat Jekutiel* might be construed as decisions against the traditional Law. The critical writer of *Mizpeh Jekutiel* raised his voice against these points in honesty and religious fervour without fear of causing to himself harm, inconvenience and pecuniary losses. His language may have been too aggressive, and I do not approve of that; nevertheless, there is no justification for excommunication.' He warns his congregants not to take any notice of the same, and that anybody who regards the author as subject to the ban, deserves to be, and is to be regarded as excommunicated. A letter from R. Ezekiel Landau of Prague to R. Saul follows this decision = פסק דין. Landau says in this letter that a controversy between two great scholars cannot form a ground for excommunication, but reproves the author for having used offensive language against a great Rabbi. This letter is dated the 29th of Sivan, 5550 (Landshut, p. 98). There is also another letter in a similar strain which the Prague Rabbi wrote to Saul on Elul the 17th, 5549 (*ibid.*, p. 99), R. Saul himself wrote an apologetic

Responsum on the matter, which was published in the *Hameaseph*, 1790 (p. 222). He is mentioned there as Rabbi of Frankfort and refers to the forthcoming publication of a volume of Responsa, the famous *בסא דהרסנא*. This work he had printed at the same office as the *Mizpeh Fekutiel*, namely in the *Verlag der Jüdischen Freyschule*, called *חברת חנוך נערים*, at Berlin in 1793, and brought still more trouble upon himself and grief and annoyance to his respected father. The full title of the book is, '*Responsa Besamim Rosh*, 392 Responsa by great teachers, mostly by R. Asher b. Jehiel⁴¹ which were collected by Rabbi Isaac di Molina, a great scholar of the time of the Bet Joseph;⁴² printed with notes and additions, called *בסא דהרסנא*,⁴³ by Saul, son of Zevi Hirsch, Chief Rabbi of this Town'.

Soon after its publication doubts were expressed as to whether the great Rabbis had actually written the Responsa attributed to them. Wolf Landsberg, formerly Rabbi of Wallerstein, published a booklet called *Zeeb Fitrof* = *זאב יטרוף*, and pointed out that the author of the book declared lawful certain matters which are really forbidden according to Jewish law. 'If the author of the book had had any regard for his father', says Landsberg, 'he would not have done such a thing.' Rabbi Mordecai Baneth, Chief Rabbi of Moravia, went further and declared⁴⁴ that the whole book was a forgery by R. Saul, denying that either Asheri or Isaac di Molina had ever written or seen these Responsa. R. Saul had stated in the preface that

⁴¹ Called 'Rosh', died in Toledo, 1327.

⁴² Joseph Caro, author of the *Shulhan Aruk* and *Bet Joseph* to *Turim*; born in Spain 1488, died in Safed Nisan 1575.

⁴³ Literally: a tasty dish. Cp. *Talm. B. Bezah* 16a and *Abodah Z.*, p. 38a.

⁴⁴ See *Literaturblatt d. Orients*, 1844, pp. 53 and 140.

when in Piemonte some years before, he bought the MS from a Turkish Rabbi called Hayyim b. Jonah Sabi. R. Hirschel thereupon again issues a booklet in defence of his son and calls heaven and earth as witnesses that he, personally, had the MS. copied by his son R. Solomon (Solomon Herschel, later Rabbi in London) and that he himself had prepared an index to the work while in Piemonte.⁴⁵ Some of the people who now write against it and attack the editor had seen the MS. and had read it with pleasure. If it were as the enemies of his son allege, then *he* would be the guilty party for having assented to the publication and given his approbation to the book. Landshut remarks on this (p. 104) that he was at a loss to understand how R. Hirschel could have written in this manner. Azulai, Straschun, Zunz have fully proved that the Responsa attributed to Asheri and other early scholars were never written by them.

R. Saul seems to have lost his position as Rabbi in Frankfort-on-Oder soon after the publication of the *Mizpeh Jekutiel*. In *Hameaseph*, 1790 (p. 222), he is still mentioned as holding that position, while in the title to the volume of forged Responsa there is no mention of his then being Rabbi at Frankfort. It would seem that by the publication of the *Mizpeh* he had already lost whatever respect and esteem he had possessed in his community. He, apparently, moved to Berlin prior to 1793, because he describes himself in the title of the Responsa as 'Saul b. Hirschel, Rabbi of *our* congregation'. But even in Berlin his residence was made unpleasant after the publication of the latter work.

⁴⁵ He writes: פירמוןר; I have found no other reference of his sojourn in Piemonte or any reason for his journey there. He states in 1791 that it was a matter of ten years previously.

For in it ideas which evidently belonged to the Mendelssohn school are propounded as coming from Asheri, whose aversion to all secular learning is well known. The falsification is in some places even clumsy. References are made to circumstances which did not exist in those bygone days, but which existed at the time of Mendelssohn and R. Saul. (See Brann in *Graetz-Fubelschrift*, p. 257; cp., however, Straschun in Fuenn's *Kiryah Neemanah*, p. 296, and S. J. Rapaport in Biography of Nathan Hababli, Note 13. The latter scholars praise Saul as scholar and clever head.)

R. Saul, seeing himself abandoned by his friends, left Berlin and proceeded to London, where, a few years later, his brother R. Solomon Herschel was elected Rabbi of the Ashkenazim. In Halle he became so ill that he made his will. However, he reached London, where he died soon after his arrival on the 23rd of Heshvan (16th November), 5555 = 1794. His name is still mentioned in the Hazkarah recited for the Rabbis on Holy days. Michelsohn (*Zevi Laz.*, p. 176) doubts the veracity of the statement that he ever came to London. We have, however, the testimony of a scholar named Meyer Joseph, who states that he visited him there repeatedly before his death,⁴⁶ and published his will in

⁴⁶ See *Literaturblatt d. Orients*, 1844, p. 714 and H. Adler, *loc. cit.*, p. 284. A letter by Meir Joseph is printed in *Kerem Chemed*, IV, p. 239. See also I. Abrahams in *JQR.*, vol. III, p. 471. Meyer Joseph was also known as Michael Josephs, and was generally called Meyer Königsberg. He was a native of Königsberg (Oct. 8, 1761), came to London 1781, and was one of the founders of the Free School. (Information of Mr. Israel Davis. See also *Jew. Enc.*, vol. VII, p. 274.) Dr. L. Lowe in *Kerem Chemed*, vol. IV, p. 232, mentions that Meir Joseph had one son in China and another in New York. Joseph translated into Hebrew the Statutes of Dukes Place Synagogue (London, 1827) and was author of an English and Hebrew Lexicon, entitled *מדרש מלים* (London, 1834). Steinschneider in *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, vol. V, p. 39

Orient. Literaturblatt, 1844. Moreover, apart from the will, Meyer Joseph published an elegy on the death of R. Saul, "קול דמעה על מות שאול בחיר ה'", in three verses of six lines each. Joseph adds hereafter: 'It was in the year 1794 when this exceptional man died here, and I think I have a right to publish this article as I was the only friend he had here. He was on a long journey, the object of which I do not remember any more, and intended also to stay in London for some time. I visited him daily, we remained often together for hours at a time, and, although I am now (in 1844) 83 years old,⁴⁷ the impression he made upon me, his eloquence and his whole personality remain unforgettable to me. A few months after his arrival he fell ill with cramp (*Krämpfe*) and it was I who closed his dying eyes. On his death the London community paid him respect. He was buried with great honours on the 25th of Heshvan, 1794. On arranging the things he left behind him I found this will, which I then copied for myself'. The will stipulates that R. Saul wished to be buried in his clothes, just as he would be found, in some forest far away from the graves of other men. The will was not found until some time after his burial, as Dr. Abrahams already pointed out in *JQR.*, III, p. 371.

mentions that: 'The London Jews College Library was enriched by several hundred volumes from the library of the late Meir Joseph (died 1849) presented by his son Walter'. Leopold Dukes wrote a memoir about M. J. in *Orient. Litb.*, 1850, pp. 7-10 in which he describes him as a charming personality, who was a protector of every Jewish scholar who visited London. 'His house was a meeting-place of Jewish students in London, where otherwise the study of the Talmud was an unusual thing'. Dukes also wrote his tombstone-inscription which is reproduced at the end of the memoir.

⁴⁷ *Jew. Enc.*, VII, p. 274, gives M. Joseph's date of birth as 1863. It was according to this, his own testimony, 1761.

Saul was the son-in-law of Joseph Jonas Fraenkel, Landrabbiner of Silesia in Breslau (born 1721, died 20th October, 1793), having married his eldest daughter Sarah (born 1744), and having thus become nephew of the famous R. David Oppenheimer, Chief Rabbi of Prague, whose wife was Rabbi Fränkel's sister (Kaufmann, *Samson Wertheimer*, p. 96, note 1). R. Saul had a son called Aryeh Judah Loebusch or Lewin, who afterwards succeeded his grandfather and was the last of the Chief Rabbis of the province of Silesia. This Aryeh Loebusch, likewise, had a very sad end. Born in 1765 he spent his childhood with his maternal grandfather at Breslau, later he became a pupil of his grandfather R. Hirschel in Berlin and spent also some time in Frankfort-on-Main at the Yeshibah of Rabbi Phinehas Horowitz,⁴⁸ teacher of the famous Moses Sofer known as the *Hatam Sofer*.⁴⁹ He became Rabbi of Dubienka in Poland and on the 3rd of July, 1800, Lewi Saul Fraenkel, as he was officially styled, was elected as 'Chief Rabbi of the Province of Silesia with the exception of Breslau and *Locum Tenens* of the Rosh-Bet-din of Breslau' (Brann., *ibid.*, p. 267). Like his father, he had an inclination for the modern Mendelssohn type of Judaism. In the preface to the book *Or Enayim* of Solomon Peniel, a work on mysticism, he mentions nearly all the Greek philosophers, modern classics and scientists in one breath with the Rabbis of olden and recent times in the obvious desire to impress the reader with his profound knowledge in all subjects. A sound Talmudist and good Hebrew writer he read without any system all kinds of secular books, and probably

⁴⁸ Called the 'Haflaah' after a book he published.

⁴⁹ Born in Frankfort a. M. 1763, died as Rabbi of Pressburg, 25th Tishri, 5600 (Oct. 3, 1839).

thereby unbalanced his mind. When in 1807 the Sanhedrin of Paris was summoned by Napoleon to discuss the modernization of Judaism, Lewin received a passport to travel there 'on family matters' for which he had asked, on the ground that a relative of his, a certain Carl Anton von Pavly, had died in Paris and left a considerable fortune, to part of which he was entitled. Before his departure, however, he addressed 'a letter to his coreligionists referring to the latest, most wonderful, events in the Christian world'. He is overjoyed at Napoleon's happy inspiration to summon the Sanhedrin, and says: 'You can profit from such Christians, upon whom rests the Spirit of God! Examine, therefore, carefully the resolutions of the Sanhedrin and listen to their appeal'. In the further course of this letter⁵⁰ he advocates a general reform of *all* religions, in which Jews and Christians, Turks and idol worshippers should all unite into one universal religion. In spite of this plea he later tries to prove that Jesus was a descendant of the house of David. This made his position quite clear to everybody. Although he still uses the title of 'Oberlandesrabbiner von Schlesien' the Jews had long ceased to regard him as one of their own. Already in 1796, before he was appointed in Breslau, his grandfather, R. Hirschel, to whom he had announced his intention of visiting him, writes to him on the 13th of Tammuz to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, that he does not wish him to come, especially after 'the great thing (מעשה רב) which he had lately been guilty of'.⁵¹ We do not know what 'important event' he refers to, but it would appear that his grandfather was ashamed of him, and that he was

⁵⁰ This letter was published in Breslau by Adolf Gehr in 1807 and consisted of sixteen pages.

⁵¹ See *Zevi Laz.*, p. 176.

afraid of what people would say if he were to receive this grandson in his house. In 1809 the *Schlesische Provinzial-Blätter* published the announcement that 'Lewi Saulssohn Fraenkel having, by virtue of his altered religious persuasion, embraced Christianity, resigns his post as Chief Rabbi of Silesia'. What became of him during the next six years is not known. The tale goes that he repented soon after his conversion and spent his life as a beggar wandering from town to town, and everywhere spending his time at the Bet-Hamidrash studying Talmud. He made notes in the books he read and these were always excellent, proving the writer to be a great scholar.

When the Rabbis found these notes and inquired after the writer he usually had already left the town. Like Cain he had no rest on earth, never slept where he had spent the day, always disappearing before night set in. In 1815 he arrived, a complete wreck in body and mind, at the Jewish hospital at Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he died as true Baal Teshubah (repentant) on the 27th of Heshvan, 5576 (30th November, 1815).

But now to return to R. Hirschel Lewin. The scandals caused by his son, Saul, embittered his life. Although there was no animosity against him personally, the part he took in defending his son's literary falsifications probably caused many of his former friends to turn against him. His position had become still more unpleasant when the Rabbis of Poland and Germany publicly protested against Wessely's *Dibré Shalom*. Among the letters which Rabbi Tevele Schiff, R. Zevi Hirsch's successor as Rabbi in London, wrote to his brother, R. Meir Dayan in Frankfort, is one which is of special interest, and throws a clear light on the whole affair. The

letter is dated the 20th of Elul, 1782 (see Appendix to part II), and R. Tevele writes there with reference to R. Hirschel as follows: 'It is now known here all about the Rabbi's departure from Berlin. I have seen a copy of the letter which he left behind with instructions that the same should not be opened until six days after his departure. He is now said to be in Vienna, and from the letter it appears he intends going to the Holy Land. I have also seen a letter from the Rabbi of Lissa to the Rabbi of Amsterdam, as also a copy of a sermon of the former, in which he blames R. Herz Wessely, and strongly disapproves of his letter. This sermon is very clearly written, full of wise and pious words, and carefully construed so as not to commit an offence against the Emperor (Joseph II). From the letter and sermon of the Rabbi of Lissa it appears that they did the same in Posen (preach against Herz Wessely), and in Vilna they burnt the letter of R. Herz Wessely outside the town by order of the famous Gaon R. Eliah; also that the Rabbi of Prague likewise preached about it at first, but now he is obliged to remain quiet, is only acting secretly, and induces other famous Rabbis to condemn him (i. e. Wessely).—After all this it is easily to understand that the Rabbi of Berlin could not continue in his office, and left. If you can send me a copy of the proclamation issued there (namely, at the Synagogue of Frankfort) I should be glad to receive it.' Rabbi Hirschel's letter, which is printed in Landshut's work, sets forth the reasons for his leaving in a slightly different form. He says that he saw he could not improve the religious status of the congregation. Especially difficult had become his task since reform had raised up its head and estranged the young

people from their faith. He had decided to migrate to Palestine, and asked the leaders of the community to forgive him for not leaving with a solemn farewell. The answer of the Parnasim is not extant; they, however, succeeded in inducing him to return to Berlin and remain in office until his death on Monday the 4th of Elul, 5560 = 1800. He had spent his life as Rabbi of the most important congregations then existing. His fame as a Rabbi and leader was known far and wide throughout Jewry and, still, all his life he had hated being a Rabbi. Nevertheless, or on account of this, he devoted all his life to promoting the welfare of his people, bearing high the standard of the Torah, which he loved from the depth of his heart. He was the last of the Chief Rabbis of Berlin. A brilliant preacher and great scholar, he commanded respect wherever he appeared. Although in later years he always writes in unhappy strain, there are many little bonmots of his in circulation showing that he possessed a deep sense of humour. In many sermons he offers witty interpretations of biblical and talmudic sayings: “ברוך ה'” . In a discourse given in Berlin (*Zevi Laz.*, p. 142) he admonished his congregants to restraint. They should not follow what their hearts desire, and not always desire what their eyes see. The Jezer Hara, the evil spirit, is alive in everybody and must be kept in check by strict adherence to the Torah and religious precepts. ‘Once I met a man, he says, who seemed familiar to me, but I did not remember where I had previously seen him. He was then very downhearted and low-spirited. Some time later I beheld the same man and saw him running busily about the streets. He only nodded to me and ran away. I met him again a short while ago here in Berlin. He was sitting in a restaurant, treating himself

well. I asked him who he was, and why he had avoided me when I met him before. He answered: "I am the evil spirit, the Jezer Hara. The first time I saw you was in Halberstadt, which is a very religious community and business was not at all prosperous with me, as I hardly had any customers and felt so downhearted that I would not speak to anybody. When you next saw me it was in Mannheim. There I had plenty to do, for the people were inclined to listen to my persuasions and I was busy all day long and, therefore, could not stop to speak to you. Here, in Berlin, I have, at last, found satisfaction, the whole Kehillah readily follows me and I can now enjoy myself". So far as we are concerned it seems a pity that R. Hirschel does not state what opinion the Jezer Hara had of London Jews.

LITERARY ACTIVITY.

His literary activity was many-sided. Halakic responsa of his are to be found in many of the contemporary collections, a list of which is given in the book *Zevi Lazzaddik*, by Michelsohn (pp. 151-2). He used to make extensive notes in all the books he studied from, and many of these are preserved in the Bet-Hamidrash library in London. So far the book *Zevi Lazzaddik* is the only complete work of his which was separately published, and this is also more of the nature of a collection. It contains talmudic notes, some responsa and sermons, copied from various manuscripts in the Bet-Hamidrash library. The appendix contains biographical notes by the editor Michelsohn, who claims to be one of the Rabbi's descendants, under the title 'Bet Zaddik'. Besides these the book contains many occasional verses, some of them humorous. Interesting is a poem on Purim

entitled למוסר ומורא בן היין 'The daughter of wine (or a barrel of wine) and a moral for Purim'. This is a warning against the custom of getting drunk and disorderly on Purim under the pretext of fulfilling a Mizwah, based on the talmudical saying: Everybody must drink wine on Purim until he does not know the difference between מרדכי 'Cursed be Haman and blessed be Mordecai' (Talmud b. Megillah 7 b). He points out that the sages never intended this saying to be taken literally. The festivities of Purim bore a holy character in olden times and not like at present, when people only keep that part of Purim which refers to eating and drinking (and to do what they like to do).⁵²

A short elegy on 'Zion in Ruins' is given in the book *Bet Meshullam*, edited by the same Rabbi Michelsohn in Pietrkow, 1905 (p. 57), where the editor also prints a list of homeopathic remedies and charms, some of them Kabbalistic, similar to the recipes contained in MS. Adler 2286 (pp. 133 ff.).⁵³ The Bet-Hamidrash library which consists mainly of the late Solomon Herschel's books and manuscripts has several MS. written by R. Hirschel. The MSS. of this library were catalogued by the late Dr. Neubauer and the Catalogue was published under the misleading title *Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Jews' College, London* (Oxford, 1886). Under 'Jews' College' is meant the Bet-Hamidrash in Mulberry

⁵² Of the further contents of the book are to be noted: Pages 1-13 haggadic notes to the Pentateuch, pp. 32-91 Talmudic collectanea and responsa, among which the editor interweaves some of his own. On pp. 92-140 are haggadic discourses, among them one for Sabbath before Passover, 5544, held in Berlin (p. 108), another held in Mannheim, 5530 (p. 117), one to the Penitential Sabbath, 5531, likewise given in Mannheim, while pp. 154-6 contain small verses, some of them already previously published.

⁵³ About this manuscript see Appendix II.

Street and not the Institute known as Jews' College.⁵⁴ MS. No 22 contains notes on the Turim copied from the margins of the books belonging to the R. Zevi Hirsch of Berlin. On folio 140 of this MS. is to be found the will of R. Leb Norden, Jacob Emden's friend. This will was published by Dr. Israel Abrahams in *JQR.*, IV, p. 341. Michelsohn mentions another MS. written by R. Hirschel which is in the possession of M. Isaac Beharier of Lodz, and contains discourses held in London in the year 1756 on the occasion of his installation, and on the following Sabbath Haggadol and Sabbath Teshubah and thus seems to complement MS. Adler 1248. The British Museum possesses a copy of Sabbatai Bass's *Sifte Jeshenim* with manuscript notes by R. Zevi b. Aryeh. The Order of Service at the consecration of the New Synagogue, on the 13th of September, 1838, contains the 'Consecration Anthem composed in Hebrew by the late Rev. Dr. (!) H. Hirschel'. This Anthem is reprinted in the Order of Service of the reopenings of the New Synagogue on the 2nd of September 1847 (ה' כ"א אלול תר"ז), and of the 6th of September 1855 (ה' כ"ג אלול תרט"ו), also in the Order of Service at the Opening of the Branch of the Great Synagogue Portland Street, London, on March 29, 1855, and frequently since. Mr. Israel Solomons possesses a poem by R. Hirschel to be used at the consecration of a Sefer Torah. It was

⁵⁴ No. 24 of Neubauer, *Cat.*, contains responsa to R. Herz Pintschow, and on folio 41 has the date Venice, 1744; folio 42 is dated Rovigo. Page 18, No. 43, 4 is a manuscript which was presented to R. Hirschel by Moses Mendelssohn. At the sale of the property of the late R. Solomon Herschel in March, 1843, was sold a small Kiddush-cup 'containing the medal of the Emperor Vespasian commemorating the conquest of Judea, presented by the great Mendelssohn to the father of the late Rabbi'. It fetched five guineas. Some of R. Hirschel's poems are published in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, others in *Hamagid*, XIV, under the title: נחלת צבי.

used פ' נשא, 1819, by his son R. Solomon Herschel, and was printed under the title שיר מזמור, by H. Barnett, St. James's Place, Aldgate.⁵⁵ Two letters by R. Hirschel referring to the quick burial of the dead, dated November 9th, 1794, are printed in *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. Judenthums in Deutschland*, vol. III, pp. 216 ff.

Approbations R. Hirschel gave to the following works:

דרכי דוד by R. David b. Raphael Meldola, Amsterdam, 1793 (appr. dated Amsterdam, 17 Elul, 1757).

Pentateuch, Amsterdam (Proops), 1764 (dated Halberst., 27 Tammuz, 1764).

Responsa Maimonides, פאר הרור, Amsterdam, 1765 (dated Halberst., 22 Shebat, 1765).

ס' of Isaac b. Moses Satanow, Berlin, 1773 (dated Berlin, 6 Elul, 1773).

Job with Commentary (זה ספר פשר דבר), Berlin, 1777 (dated 4 Adar, 1777).

ס' חקי חיים of Hājīm b. Josua Cohen (dated 28 Adar II, 1777).

ס' עמורי שמים, by Baruk b. Jacob, Berlin, 1777 (dated 27 Tebat, 1777).

חי' ר' ניסים על מס' גמין, Berlin, 1778 (dated 3 Kislev, 1777).

Pentateuch: נתיבות השלום ed. Mendelssohn with translation in German, Berlin, 1783 (dated 12 Elul, 1778).

Psalms: זמירות ישראל, Berlin, 1785-90 (dated 15 Heshvan, 1783).

Pentateuch with Commentaries, ed. Frankfort-on-Oder, 1784 (dated 22 Tammuz, 1784).

ס' נאוה קודש, by Simon b. Nata Walisch, Berlin, 1786 (21 Elul, 1786).

⁵⁵ The *Sefer Torah* was presented by ז"ל = Seml Josephs. The booklet consists of 16 pages 12°. There are seven poems, one for each הקפה, each consisting of six verses, dealing with the objects of the Revelation and the value of Torah for Israel and the world in general.

בינה of Isaac Satanow, Berlin, 1784 (17 Shebat, 1784; contains also an approbation by Rabbi Saul, Rabbi of Frankfort-on-Oder).

Responsa: מים עמוקים of R. Eliah Mizrahi, &c, Berlin, 1777 (19 Sivan, 1777).

מחברת מנחם, Berlin, 1778 (dated 13 Heshvan, 1778).

מסלול, Hebrew Grammar by Hājīm b. Naphtali Coeslin, Berlin, 1788 (dated 1788, no month and day given).

Responsa: בשמים ראש, Berlin, 1793 (see above), (dated 1793).

כליל החשבון of David b. Meir Friesenhausen (about whom cp. now C. Duschinsky: תולדות יעקב, London, 1918, p. 27), Berlin, 1796 (dated 18 Ab, 1796).

חוקי חיים by R. Jacob Hājīm b. Josua Cohen, Berlin, 1796 (dated 28 Adar II).

השרשים ed. Isaac Satanow, Berlin, 1787 (dated 26 Elul, 1783).

שונה הלכות of R. Simon Kahira, ed. Amstd., 1762 (dated 30 Shevat, 522).

מלן ררבנן ed. Frankfort-on-the-Oder, 1781 (dated 28 Adar II, 1780).

(This list does not pretend to be complete.)

To the list of notes made by R. Levi to various works, enumerated by Landshut, p. 112, is to be added the Aruk, ed. Basel, which was used by Kohut; cp. *Aruk Completum*, Introd., p. liii.

His Family.

Rabbi Hirschel's first wife was, as already mentioned, Golde, daughter of David Tevele Cohen of Glogau. She died in Berlin on Thursday, 1st of April, 1794 (1st of Iyyar, 5554), and had borne him three sons and three daughters. R. Saul was the eldest son, the second was Abraham David Tevele, called Berliner, and the third was R. Solomon Herschel, afterwards Rabbi in London. His three daughters were (1) Sarah, who married his nephew, Jacob Moses, son of his brother Saul, Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam; ⁵⁶ (2) Reisel,

⁵⁶ Jacob Moses was at first Rabbi in Filehne and afterwards succeeded his father as Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam, where he died on the 15th of

wife of Ber Ginzburg, Rabbi of the province of Russia ;⁵⁷ (3) Beilah, second wife of Mordecai, Rabbi of Tiktin. She was well versed in talmudic literature and an excellent Hebrew writer. It is reported that she held a Hespel (necrologue) on the death of Rabbi Asher of Wisin, and left a will written in classical Hebrew at present in the possession of a certain Berl Raschkes (Michelsohn, *ibid.*, p. 178, note 23). R. Hirschel's second son, David Tevele of Pietrkow, was a saintly and very charitable man. He was a well-to-do merchant with an extensive business, but all his free time was devoted to the study of the Torah. He was offered the post of Rabbi in Pietrkow, an important Jewish centre, but refused it. He died at the age of 85. Before his death he warned his children to keep away from the Law Courts. He never sued anybody, even if large sums were involved. A letter to him by his father is printed in *Zevi Lazzaddik* (p. 178), dated Berlin 1790, and the certificate of 'Haber' given by R. Hirschel to David Tevele's son Aryeh Loeb is likewise to be found in the same work (p. 180) and bears the date 8th of Tammuz, 1791. Another son of David Tevele, Isaac Nathan, was for nearly fifty years Rabbi in Bielagora, and died there on the 9th of Iyyar, 1864. Many of R. Hirschel's descendants still occupy positions as Rabbis in Russian communities.⁵⁸

Adar II, 5575 = 1825. His wife Sarah died on Wednesday, the 8th of Elul, 1797, three years before her father's death.

⁵⁷ The Province of Russia was one of the four represented in the Four-Lands-Synods held in Poland and Russia. See Zunz: עיר הצדק, p. 59, c. 20. It is the part called 'White Russia on the borders of Poland'.

⁵⁸ R. Hirschel's second wife, whom he married in 1797, three years after his first wife's death, when he was 76 years old, was Sprinza, daughter of Abraham of Hildesheim, a descendant of Haham Zevi. After the Rabbi's death she married Zabel Eger, Rabbi of Braunschweig (Landshut, p. 114).

APPENDIX I

RABBI ZEVI HIRSCHEL LEWIN'S ANCESTRY.

HIS father was, as already stated, Rabbi Aryeh Loeb Loewenstamm. He was born in 1690, the son of Rabbi Saul then Rabbi in Lakatch, who later became Rabbi in Brisk, and in 1701 became successor of his father the great Rabbi Heschele Cracow. He was not very popular there for some unknown reason, and left Cracow three years later in 1704. For some years he lived in Breslau, and in 1707 he was elected as Rabbi of the Ashkenazim in Amsterdam. It was not his fate to officiate there. On his journey to Amsterdam he passed away in Glogau on the 17th of Iyyar, 1707. (See Landshut, p. 71; Dembitzer, II, p. 82; and Carmoly, *העורבים*, p. 34). His son Aryeh Loeb eventually held the office to which his father had been called. Aryeh Loeb's grandfather, Rabbi Heschele Cracow, was one of the greatest talmudical authorities of his time. Even the foremost scholars of his day—like R. Mendel Krochmal, Chief Rabbi of Moravia—living far away from his sphere of activity, accepted his decision in ritual matters. (See Resp., *Zemah Zedek*, No. 107, and Dembitzer, *loc. cit.*, II, 46 a.) Many people regarded him as a saint, and many are the tales of wonders and miracles woven around his name. His wife was the granddaughter of R. Saul Wahl, the famous 'one-day king' of Poland. R. Heschele at first acted as Rabbi in Lublin and Brisk, then migrated to Vienna in order to plead for help on behalf of his brethren in Poland. He remained in Vienna for some time and in 1665 became Rabbi of Cracow, where his son R. Saul succeeded him afterwards. R. Heschele was the son of Rabbi Jacob of

Lublin and grandson of R. Ephraim Naphtali Hirsch (died 1664) of Brisk.

R. Aryeh Loeb's wife was the daughter of the Ḥaham Zevi who likewise came of a family of great scholars. His father was Rabbi Jacob son of Rabbi Benjamin of Wilna. Rabbi Jacob was son-in-law of Rabbi Ephraim Cohen, Rabbi of Buda (Budapest), who afterwards settled in Jerusalem, author of the Responsa collection *Sha'ar Ephraim*. (See preface of this work, ed. Sulzbach, 1688). Jacob Emden in his Autobiography, *Megillat Sefer* (p. 3), states that R. Ephraim possessed a pedigree right up to Aaron the High Priest.

R. Aryeh Loeb and his wife Miryam had two sons and three daughters. The sons were R. Saul and Rabbi Hirschel; the daughters were: (1) Dinah, wife of Saul Halevy, Chief Rabbi of the Hague; (2) Sarah, wife of R. Isaac Halevy of Lemberg, Chief Rabbi of Prague; and (3) Naitsche, wife of Moses Zolkiew, Parnas in Lemberg (see *Bet Meschullam*, p. 66). The eldest daughter Dinah was a very good Hebrew scholar. She wrote a letter in excellent Hebrew to her brother R. Hirschel, then Rabbi in Mannheim, on the 3rd of Tammuz, 1770 (printed in Michelsohn's *Zevi Laz.*, p. 158). Rabbi Aryeh Loeb gave approbations to various works. As Rabbi of Reisha he signs one for the work *חולדות יעקב* by Jacob Eulenburg, the approbation bears the date 484 = 1724: to the Pentateuch, printed in Dyhrenfurt, 1727, and finally to Moses Jekutiel Kaufmann's *חקי דרך* (Dyhrenfurt, 1747), which approbation is dated in Reisha, 1728. (See Landshut, *loc. cit.*, p. 71, Dembitzer, I, p. 132 a, and I. Zunz, *עיר הצדק*, p. 158.) In Glogau he signs an approbation on the 17th of Sivan, 1734, to the Talmud-edition Frankfort-Berlin.

APPENDIX II

MS. ADLER 2286.

THIS MS. contains 138 quarto pages, many of which are only half filled and a good many are blank. The contents are mostly short notes written down after a talmudical lesson at the Yeshibah. R. Hirschel used this book for several years. On p. 61 b we find, after his signature, the date לפק זה הקרה ר" לפני יום א" פורים קטן תק"ב = 14th of Adar I, 5502 = 1742. On p. 67 b is the date given ב"ב חמוז תק"ב = 17th of Tammuz of the same year. But we find many notes of much later origin. On p. 91 b he writes: 'It is now twenty years since I wrote the foregoing; in the meantime I found a reference to what I said here in the book of Responsa: בחש"ו מהר"א ששון: ששון'. Most interesting are the first and last leaves. Fol. 1 has an elaborate title in verses, the contents of which we have already mentioned. Fol. 2 a is a continuation of the same as a secondary title. Fol. 2 b has a 'Nice song for Hanukkah' = (וזמר נאה לחנוכה), a rather primitive, but considering the youth of the author, remarkably well written verse. Then follows: חרה נאה על חרה נאה על 'A nice conundrum on chess' what he calls 'the game of Chesstable'. This verse is, in spite of a few linguistic errors and platitudes, quite a remarkable piece of work. Here I will only mention that R. Hirschel compares chess to a battlefield. The King is guarded by his statesmen, the knights and bishops, and has a dutiful wife at his side. The Queen manages all his affairs for him, while the King in his high dignity only moves one step at a time wherever he goes. His soldiers fight for him regardless of their lives. Fearlessly they go forward in one straight line. There is no withdrawal, no avoiding

danger, they fight and die on the battlefield, and only when all his soldiers are dead must the King fight for himself.

The verse is obviously written under the influence of Ibn Ezra's poem, which likewise begins with the words: *אשורר שיר במלחמה* (cp. ed. Kahana, p. 156, and Steinschneider's *Schach bei den Fuden*, p. 195 ff., also *Heb. Bibl.*, XII, p. 60).

We have further (p. 3 b) a short verse on Passover, an acrostic on the Alphabet and his name 'Zevi', and also a poem dealing with Israel's covenant with his Heavenly Father (p. 4 a). On p. 5 a is the address only of a letter to Moses Chagis, Haham in Amsterdam. It was probably the beginning of a letter by his father R. Aryeh Loeb, but the letter itself is not copied. P. 5 b has a few riddles, while on p. 7 a we find the beginning of a letter to Naphtali Herz, Rabbi of Pintschow.

Equally interesting is the concluding part of the volume. P. 129 b contains a kabbalistic remedy for a sick woman, and on pp. 130 b and 131 a we have ten more prescriptions for various maladies, all of either homoeopathic or kabbalistic nature. Pp. 135-7 form the index of the book prepared by R. Hirschel, in itself an indication of the writer's scholarly nature.

APPENDIX III

Title page of MS. Adler 2286 and some selections from the same.

Title page: (Folio 1 a).

שמע ישראל

הספר הזה יש בו סך קל"ט דפים לפרט הנה אשר אציג לפניך

קדוש למדני את חוקיך

לנורא עלילה

וסדרתי את התפילה

וה"ה אלהי אבותינו חננו ה"ה חננו, ה"ה מלכינו הוא יושיענו

את חוקיך הביננו, ובתורתך האר עינינו, כי אתה ה' אלהינו
פנה אל תפלת יעקב ידיך: ותן חכמה כגדול חסדיך לצבי בנו

ארי" עבדיך

ולמדיהו כל רב סודיך

בתורתך אשר נתת

מידך למשה

איש חסדיך

אעריך לפניך

ולקמן אציגה

וכסדר הזה אשר אכתוב היא מיושרת

מור ולבונה מקוטרת כל אבקת רוכל סותרת

יה ה' אלהינו הוא מלכינו
אהללנו בתוך קהל ועדה, אשר נתן לנו גנוזה חמורה,
שוכן בערבים יזכני להבין ולכתוב מילי דאבות
וגם לי נתן מעט נחלה
והוא יחנני בבינה כפלים מן השמים
ברב טוב וחמלה
יחונן מיומים ויביאינו בארץ החיים
וכבוד ה' נגלה
יה תן בלבנו להבין ללמוד את כל דבריך
לפ"ק

Folio 2 a.

מה נעמו לחיכי חיד אוכל יטעם לו טעם
לשבח סוד שיח אמרי נועם חכמים מרפא לנפש
חידושי גמרא תוספת ופוסקים ראשונים ואחרונים ז"ל אשר חרש הגאון
מופת הדור נ"י ע"ה כ"ה לו נאווה תהלה ולו יאתה הגדולה המאה"ג המופלא
ומופלג כבוד מ"ו ארי" ליב נ"ו אב"ד דק"ק גלונא יצ"ו אשר הי" לפנים
אב"ד בק"ק לבוב הבירה הוא ניהו מורי ורבי אבי אב בחכמה אשר ברוב
חכמתו ודקות חריפתו ובסברא ישרה בפלפול הגמרה. חרש הרבה דברים
נחמדים ויקרים. ויהי כי עצמו מלספר כי אין מספר ואדוני אבי הגאון
נר"י משא העם כבד עליו הלכו הלוח ופחות וכל תלמיד ותלמיד הולך ופוחת
וכותב לו לו לעצמו. והי" עמו כל הימים. לפלפל בשיבת החכמים.
ואני הנני קטן בשבטי ודל באלפי אמרתי אף אנוכי לקיים מילי דאבות
ולכתבם על הספר. בעט סופר. למען לא יבוא אחר וישתמש בכלי שאינו

שלו למען רוממות שמו ולגדלו. ואבי הגאון נר"י כי ראה זאת אמר יישר בני כתוב לך את השירה הזאת לך לטובתך למען תדע הדרך אשר תלך בה דרך החיים ואין חיים אלא תורה שנאמר עין חיים היא למחזיקים בה ואשר לא תדע בני שאלני כמ"ש שאל אביך ויגדך ואנוכי כשמעי זאת נתחזקתי ונתאמצתי בלבי לעשות כאשר אמרתי וכה עשיתי. כאשר עיניך יראו מישרים.

וחלקתיהו לחמשה חלקים האחד חלק השירים וחלק החדה וחלק הפשט, והפשט יפרד לשני חלקים חלק האב וחלק הבן וחלק המכתב (?) ה"ק צבי הירש בהגאון מ" ארי" ליב.

Fol. 2 b.

חדה נאה על הצחוק שקורין שאך טאביל

הק" צבי הירש בהגאון

אשורר שיר ומלחמה: מיוסד ע"פ בינה וחכמה. שני מחנות. זה לנגד זה נצבים להרוג באויבים. וכל מחנה ומחנה נתחלק לשני מחנות פן האחד יבוא אל המחנה האחת והכהו ותהיינה מטה מטה. והי" המחנה הנשאר לפליטה. והן הנה קבועים עלי טורים שמונה. מכל צד ופנה. ובין שני המלכים עם המחנות הגדולות קבוע. לוח ובו ל"ב שבילים. אשר בהם ירצון אופניהם. ויעריכו מלחמותיהם. הלא המה המחנות ידמו כבבשים ומבצרים. בחורים אדירים. כולם גבורים. שני גברים. רוכבי אתונות צחורים. ושני זקנים. קרובים למלכם ונבונים. ומצדי השורה הראשונה. שני שרים עומדים להנה והמלך אף הוא עם אשתו יגשו מלחמה אל גבעת הרמה. ולפני המלך ושריו הנכבדים. שמונה עבדים. מול המלחמה החזקה עומדים. והמלכה העומדת לצד המלך. בעבורו משוטטת בכל פלך. וחאשה המהוללה. עטרת בעלה. היא תלך ע"פ כל השדה. לשמור ידידה. והזקנים ילכו עומתה לשמור הדרכים השונות. והרוכב ילך עמהם עקלקלות. ושלשה לו גבולות. שנים בישר נתמים. ואחד עקום כמשפט הזקנים וחכמים והוא במרוצה. יצא חוצה ואיש לא יעכבנו. כי בחזקה יהדפנו, ועל ראשי עם יפסיע, עד אל מחוז חפצו יגיע, והשרים שרי הצבא, הולכים במזג השוה, ברב חבה ואהבה ופעמים יכניסו מלביהם אל צדיהם, והמה יבואו אל מקומו למען לא יבואו שונאיו עלימו ופותחים לו פתח חרוצה, וחומה פרוצה, למען יצא חוצה.

Folio 3 a.

ובאם שהמלך כבר הלך, כערכו אשר למהלכו, לא ישנה ממנהנו לילך
 ע"פ ארבע טורים, כשאר הגברים, כי המלך אף במלחמה, כל כבודו בית
 המלך פנימה, והוא לכל צד במעלה אחת, ילך בשובה ונחת, וכל אלו המלך
 והשרים פניהם לארבעתן יפנו, וע"פ המצחק יסעו ויחנו, וכפי הילוכם
 ונתיבתם כמו כן הכאתם, מלבר הרונגלים העומדים בתחלה, לנוכח המסילה,
 המה הולכים דרך סלולה וע"פ שדה אחת מהלכם, וגם אל הרכב ידמו
 בעקומתם יכו ולא ירחמו ובלכתם לא יסבו פניהם, ולא יחזרו לאחוריהם,
 ולא יפנו אל צריהם, כי אם איש אל עבר פניו, לשמור את אדוניו, והרונגלים
 אשר לפני חצר מלכם, שלשה להם הליכות והרונגלים העומדים בצד המחנה
 גם המה בתחלת המלחמה, יפסיעו כנבורים, ע"פ שלשה טורים וכולם אשר
 ע"פ שלשה טורים ירחקו מנבולם וינידו, בשורה השלישית יעמדו ואם איש
 יבוא על המלך להפילו ימותו בעדו כל חילו, ובמות האחת תמות גם
 השנית ובלי הצלה ופרייה, וע"פ בני האדם יחד יצמדו ועמדו על מעמדם,
 ועתה אבאר נודל פאר, מצבם ומעמדם, אחד אחד לפי כבודם, המלך עלי
 טור רביעי מקומו. באמצע עמו, ולא יעמוד מן הצד, פן ברשת נלכד
 ונוצר, ואצלו שגל נצבת, מכובדת על בעלה וחשובה, ואצל כל אחד עומד
 זקן להורותם הדרך לפי הערך, לכל אחד כחוקו אם גבה ואם מך בערכו,
 ומצד כל זקן עומד, רוכב מלומד מלחמה, להכין (להכות?) במחנה, ושר
 הצבא עומד בצדו, את המעשה אשר יעשה ללמדו, והי" בהכותו אויבו, יריב
 ריבו, כי אהבו ושמונה שלוחים לפניהם ערוכים, אותם ישלחון תחלה, לחפור
 את המחנה כולה, וכל אחד לפי שכלו, ישלח שלוחו וישיב לו, והם מלומדים
 את המעשה אשר יעשו, בפנעם בדרך אסון והיה אך יצוא יצא, מן הקצה אל
 הקצה, בלי דופי ושמצה, נעשה אדון לעצמו, ושר בקרב עמו כמות אשר עמד
 לפניו במקומו, ואם זה הוכה והלך יניע אל בית מושב המלך, יהפך אל
 האשה תחת אישה, כי לא יתכן להיות שני מלכים בכתר אחד משתמשים,
 אבל יתכן למלך אחד שתי נשים או כלוקחה אשתו, את זאת לאשה לו
 ימירנה, תחת אשתו הראשונה, ונתן כתר מלכות בראשה, כרת האשה שהיא
 עמרת בעלה לשם ולתהלה.

זמר נאה לפסח.

תני שבחים והילולים אל אל אלים, פרה וחילו טבע בים מצולים ועמו
 הדריך ביבשה על פרעה אויבי עשר מכות הביא ע"י איש מבית לוי, הוא
 רועה נאמן משה.

Folio 3 b.

הוא הוציאנו ממצרים. והדריכנו בתוך המים והוריד לנו תורה מן השמים,
 וחילקו לחלקים חמשה מפי הגבורה לקח התורה. ערובה בכול ושמורה,
 תורה היא וגם פירושה: פסח הוא יום גאולה בו יבוא צמח לעם סגולה,
 ויוציאנו מן הגולה ואז נשיר שיר חדשה.

TRANSLATION.

Title-page (1 a).

Hear, O Israel !

This book contains 139 leaves on which I will arrange before you, what Thou, O Holy One, wilt teach me of Thy statutes. I have offered my prayer to the Most High God, the God of our Fathers; be gracious unto us, God our King He will help us. Make us understand Thy statutes and enlighten our eyes in Thy Law. O Almighty God, turn to the prayers of Thy beloved Jacob, Thy only one, and give wisdom in Thy great mercy to Zevi son of Aryeh Thy servant and teach him all Thy numberless secrets in the Torah which Thou gavest with Thy hand to Moses Thy saintly (servant). In the following I will arrange before you, and as I shall write it will be made plain, that 'which is perfumed with myrrh and incense and all the powders of the merchant' (Cant. 3. 6). God is our King, to Him is due praise, I will praise Him in assemblies and congregations, for He gave us, as cherished treasure, the perfection of beauty (the Torah). The Dweller of the Clouds may grant me to understand and to be able to write down the words of the Fathers (of my Father). He gave me also a small portion, and He may grant me understanding with a double measure as a gift from Heaven, in His great Goodness and Mercy may He bring us into the land of Life, and may God's Glory be revealed. 5537 a.M.

Folio 2 a (1 b is *blank*).

Behold how pleasant are to my palate the words of the wise, which are a cure for the soul.

These are novellae to the Talmud, Tosaphot and commentators Rishonim and Aḥaronim (of olden and late times) by the Gaon the great Rabbi, &c., R. Aryeh Loeb. Head of the Congregation of Glogau, who formerly was Rabbi in Lwow the Imperial Residence (Capital), he is my Master and teacher, my father, who in his great wisdom and learning has produced many new interpretations and explanations of the Talmud. When these novellae became more and more numerous, while the quality of the scholars and pupils of my father became more and more inferior, and every one of them wrote down the products of my father's mind, to use them in later life in talmudical disputes as his own achievements, so I, the smallest and humblest of my father's pupils, have made up my mind to write down what I heard from him, so as to preserve my father's words, who is too busy with communal affairs. When my father saw this (book) he spoke to me: You do right, my son, write down everything so that you may learn the way of life, which is the way of the Torah, of which it is said: 'She is a tree of life for those who grasp it', and what you do not know, ask me, as it is said: 'Ask thy father and he will show thee, thine elders and they will tell thee' (Deut. 32. 7). These words I have taken to heart and have done accordingly, as your eyes will see.

I have divided this book into five parts, the one is the part of songs, then the part of the riddles, the part of the Peshat, while the part of the Peshat is again divided into the part of the father and of the son and of the writing.

Zevi Hirsch b. Aryeh Loeb.

Folio 2 b contains first : A nice song for Hānukkah. Then follows :

A nice conundrum on the game called Chess (Shachtable).

I will sing a song of war, founded on wisdom and understanding. Two armies are arranged one opposite the other, to kill their enemies. Each army is again divided into two parts, in order that if the one army comes and beats the first part, bringing it right down, the other part can still escape. They are arranged in eight rows each on one side. Between the two Kings with their great armies is a field with thirty-two different ways in which paths run, and there they arrange their battles. The camps are like trenches and forts. Young fierce men, all heroes. Two warriors riding on white asses, and two elders (bishops) dear to their King and wise, and at the sides of the first row two princes are standing, and the King himself with his Queen take part in the battle on the high hilltop. In front of the King and his honoured princes are eight servants (pawns); they face the first strong onslaught, and the Queen who stands at the side of the King, moves about for him everywhere. This praiseworthy wife, the ornament of her husband, walks about the whole battlefield to guard her beloved; the elders proceed first to guard the various paths and the knight goes with them on roundabout ways. He has three paces, two straight in front of him and one sideways like the elders, the wise men. He (the knight) hurriedly goes forth, nobody can stop him as he would push him away in his strength. He moves in front of the people until he reaches the desired position, and the princes, the generals of the army, proceed in an even step in unity and friendship (with

one another) ; sometimes they take the King to their side and take his former place to hinder the enemy from reaching him. They open up for him a way of escape, but when the King has once stepped out, he does not change any more from his usual manner to move to either of the four sides, like the ordinary soldiers, as the King, even in war-time, keeps his dignity, and he takes only one step to whatever side he proceeds, slowly and evenly. All these, the King and his officers, can turn to every side of the four, according to the player's wish they move and rest, and like their coming and going so are their attacks, except for the infantry, who stand in front facing the battlefield, for they go only in one straight line and only move one field. They are, however, like the knight in their attack, for they hit out sideways and give no quarter. When they move, however, they do not turn and cannot go backwards, they cannot turn to their enemies but have to meet them face to face to guard their master. This infantry who stand before the entourage of the King have accordingly three ways of moving forward, and also those of them who stand at the side, can, at the beginning of the battle, step out like giants (heroes) three rows forward, and all those who have stepped forward these three rows have to stop there. If any one attacks the King his whole army has to die for him, and so also in the opposing party, and all have according to the will of mankind (the player) to stand on their assigned places.

Now I will explain to you their order of position, each one according to his status. The King has his place in the fourth row in the middle of his people. He must not stand at the side, so that he may not be caught. Next to him his helpmate stands, the honoured one by her

consort's side, and next either of them stands an Elder to show them the way as is meet, to every one according to the rules whether high or low is his position. At the side of each Elder stands a proved rider to keep order in the camp, and a General stands next to him to instruct him what to do. When he fights the enemy he stands by him, in true affection (for the brother-in-arms). The eight messengers are marched up in front of all these, they are sent first of all to get information about the enemy's position, and each one (of the officers) sends his messenger or keeps him back and they are all instructed what to do, if misfortune befalls them on their way. But if he is able to get from one end of the battlefield to the other without coming to harm, he becomes his own master, and a prince of his people like the one before whom he stood in his old place. If that one (the officer) is slain and is no more, he takes his place or even comes back to the court of his King and becomes a woman (Queen), but not a King as it is impossible for two Kings to have one and the same crown, but one King may have two wives. If his first wife is gone and taken, he takes this one in her place, puts the royal crown on her head as is the right of the wife, the crown of her husband, she is his ornament and honour.

A SONG FOR PASSOVER.

Give praise and thanks to God the Mighty, Pharaoh He threw into the deep sea, but His people he led through as if on dry land. He sent ten plagues against Pharaoh my enemy, by the hand of the man from the tribe of Levi. It is Moses who led us out of Egypt,

Folio 3 b.

He let us walk on dry land in the midst of the sea, brought us down the Torah from Heaven, which he received from the lips of God, divided it into five parts; all well arranged and observed is the Torah and her explanation.

Pesah is the day of relief, on that day will come help to the chosen people, He will lead us out of our exile, then we shall sing a new song.

(Here follows a verse of which each line begins with a letter of the Alphabet.)

APPENDIX IV

WILL OF R. SAUL B. ZEVI HIRSCH.⁵⁹

COPY of the will of Rabbi Saul son of Rabbi Zevi Hirsch, Chief Rabbi of Berlin, which I copied word for word from his own handwriting, found on him after his death, which occurred on Sunday, 23rd of Heshwan, 5555.

‘The lot of man is unknown to himself, as to where and when (he would die), it is therefore the duty of everybody who goes on a journey to make a will as long as he is alive (and decide) what he wishes should be done to him and to all that is his when God shall have gathered him from under Him. The more so it is the duty of a man travelling from land to land, from town to town, especially if he is a sickly man. I am now on my journey here in Halle, and intend to travel to distant lands, and perchance I shall not be able to speak to any one about myself; then any one who will find me dead, he will find my will in the pocket of my coat, and it shall be to him as if it were the

⁵⁹ From the Hebrew in *Orient. Litbl.*, 1844, pp. 712-13.

words of my lips, and if he be a righteous man, who is willing to do a true kindness (חסד של אמת), may he fulfil my words, as follows :

‘ Everything that is found upon me, be it little or much, may be sent to my father, the Rabbi of Berlin, after he has taken from it the purchase-money for a burial place for me. All the writings, however, which shall be found in my trunk or in any other receptacle, it shall be forbidden to anybody to take even one leaf and to read it. Everything shall be left in paper, be sealed up and sent to my above-named father or to my children or to trustworthy men in Berlin, and they shall give them to those who are worthy of them (to whom they concern).

‘ The following I ask for myself: No garment which I have upon me shall be taken away, just as they find me, they shall bury me in some forest, or in any place they find, only it shall be far away from the graves of other people. And I ask everybody whose heart has been touched by the fear of God, not to talk behind my coffin on account of my having asked for this, for he cannot know the reason for this stipulation ; however, even those who speak blamingly about me, shall be forgiven—only if they do as I ask.

‘ Any one who will act, in any of the points written here, against my will, it will be counted as a great sin to him (רם יחשב) and God will not forgive him ; as anybody who has knowledge of the Talmud knows that only one who says, “do not bury me at all” should not be obeyed but a stipulation like this one (which I have made) may be made in one’s Will.

‘ And God, to whom are known all the desires of human beings, He knows my intentions, and will yet help me to

good days and a life in which I may serve Him in pleasure (when I shall be able to serve him amidst joy), when I shall be able to devote myself to Torah and wisdom, which give joy to the embittered heart and soul, and be able to live in quietness and safety without being tied to a seat of vanity (M. Joseph's note: "referring to the office of Rabbi, which he hated, as is well known to everybody"). These are the words of one with an embittered soul whom God has given to drink of the cup of misery enough and more and still has not given up in his heart to pray to God and to hope.

SAUL.

(אני הקטן שאול).

The following is the inscription of R. Saul's tombstone to which Mr. Israel Solomons called my attention. The stone is standing near the wall facing the entrance at the Alderney Road Cemetery in Mile End, London.

פ נ

הרב הנדול המפורסם (הנפלא) . . .

(עוקר הרים?) וקנה בושם תנאי

כי טוב אשר יאמר עד היום

הוא פ"ה מזה בן מזה מהו"ר

שאול זצ"ל בן מוריני ורבינו

נשיא אלקים בתוכנו (פ"ה?)

מהו"ר צבי הירש נר"ו . . .

אב"ד ור"מ דק"ק ברלין יע"א

. אור (אבי)

מה"ר שלמה אב"ד דקהלתינו

. את אשרי

צדיק יבטח בה" ערבה . . .

נאבד (נזיר?) היהודים ביום (כנ')

חשון תקנ"ה לפ"ק

תנצבה

(To be continued.)